

American Student Movements

CAMPUS REBELS

A Brief History
of the
Student League for Industrial Democracy

by
Harold Lewack

STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

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INTRODUCTION

Today there are over two and a half million college students and some seven million High School students preparing for the task of earning a living and of serving as citizens. A half-century ago there were only one-eighth as many college students and High School students as there are today. When Jack London began touring the colleges in 1906, he described the ideal of the college student as "the passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence". Within a few short years, much of this changed as students in increasing numbers grappled with problems of social reform and social reconstruction, joined workers on the picket lines, took part in the battle against corruption, and urged the introduction of courses on Socialism and other "controversial" social movements into the academic curriculum. The League for Industrial Democracy played no small part in this marked change and especially in the fight for student rights. The first battles - for recognition, for the right to bring in "outside" speakers, and for a "freedom from the fear" of arbitrary actions on the part of school administrators - these were fought for and won by the early pioneers of the L.I.D. Here is their story.

But before we begin, it is important that the reader view this history in the perspective of 1953, which is when this account was set down. Unfortunately, many of those rights which were won by the early pioneers of the L.I.D. are once again being challenged by timid school administrators. The refusal to recognize clubs with national affiliations (unless they are fraternities or religious organizations); the elaborate procedures for recognition of student organizations; the prohibitions against "controversial" speakers, and the requirement for submission of membership lists to school administrations, are all part of a pattern which has existed in former decades. The present day spokesmen of conformity can only succeed if students remain indifferent; if they refuse to join clubs which concern themselves with the social and political problems of the day, or if they choose to ignore arbitrary actions of paternalistic school administrations. This then is one of the most important challenges of the many which confront the American student of today.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

1905, the year in which the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, forerunner of the L.I.D., was founded, was a year of ferment and revolt. Everywhere corruption and exploitation were being exposed. Luckrakers like Lincoln Steffens, Frank Norris, and Charles Edward Russell; social workers like Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, Robert Hunter and Florence Kelley; and political leaders like

Theodore Roosevelt, William Jennings Bryan and Eugene Victor Debs were bringing the facts of poverty and privilege before the public. In the East and West, the A.F. of L. was growing by leaps and bounds, and the new industrial union movement, as expressed in the I.W.W., was beginning to emerge.

While this was happening, the colleges remained apparently unaware of the social ferment which was taking place on every hand. Fortunately, this was not to last. In the year, 1905, Upton Sinclair, then a young man of 27 years of age, engaged in the writing of his epoch-making book, The Jungle, joined with George H. Strobell, a young jewelry manufacturer, in drafting a call for the organization of an association "for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." The growing influence of Socialism in the world and the fact that it offered a serious solution to "many far-reaching economic evils", made it imperative, according to the call, for educated Americans to examine its merits and debate its implications.

The call was signed by ten prominent persons as sponsors, including Thomas Wentworth Higginson, early follower of Fourier, and an ardent Abolitionist, who was known as "the Grand Old Man of Harvard"; Clarence Darrow and Morris Hillquit, leading labor attorneys; Charlotte Perkins Gilman, prominent woman suffrage advocate; Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and others. Of the ten signers, three were members of the Socialist Party. This proved to be indicative of the future, for throughout the years, the Society continued to remain independent of all political parties.

In response to this call, a group of some 100 men and women gathered together in the late afternoon of September 12, 1905, at Peck's Restaurant, 140 Fulton Street in lower Manhattan. Those present, after stating as the official object of the new Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, "the promoting of an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women", proceeded to elect Jack London, the famous young novelist, as the first President; Upton Sinclair and J. G. Phelps Stokes as the two Vice Presidents, and Owen R. Lovejoy, crusader for the abolition of child labor, as the Treasurer. Only a few college undergraduates were present at the meeting, and one, Harry W. Laidler, then a junior at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

Regular membership in the new organization was confined to graduates and students from American and Canadian universities and colleges, with an auxiliary membership (non-voting) for others who wished to aid in the educational work of the organization. The Constitution provided for annual elections of the governing body by mail vote, a practice which is still followed today in the reorganized L.I.D.

THE GROWTH OF THE I.S.S.

During the first two years of the existence of this pioneering organization, growth was slow.* Jack London during these years toured the colleges on behalf of the League, while

*Twenty Years of Social Pioneering, published by the League for Industrial Democracy in 1926.

Upton Sinclair and George Strobell wrote letters and mailed out literature packets. These included "Confessions of a Drone" by Joseph Medill Patterson, who later became editor of the New York News, and "What Life Means to Me" by Jack London and Upton Sinclair. ~~Jack London's trips resulted in considerable comment in the daily press.~~ The total expenditures for the two years from 1905 to 1907 was \$722.

The first I.S.S. chapters were organized by two of the undergraduates present at the first organizational meeting, Harry W. Laidler of Wesleyan, and Benjamin Feigenbaum of Columbia, who went back to their respective schools and arranged the first chapter meetings in the fall of 1905. The following year, groups were organized at Yale and Harvard, with Walter Lippmann, Arthur N. Holcombe, Nicholas Kelley, Osmond Fraenkel, Kenneth Macgowan, and Heywood Broun as charter members and active spirits of the latter chapter.

The next stage in the Society's growth was from 1907 to 1910, when J. G. Phelps Stokes became President. Having failed to gain much in the way of membership (the total paid-up being only 75), the Society decided to employ as an organizer Fred H. Merrick, who was succeeded in 1908 by George R. Kirkpatrick. By 1910 there were 15 college chapters, and the budget had grown to \$1,221.75. Part of this was made possible by the annual dinners, the first being held in 1908 at \$1.00 per plate, and by generous contributors such as Rufus W. Weeks, Vice President and an actuary of the New York Life Insurance Company.

The I.S.S. acquired its first regular headquarters in 1907 in the form of a desk at the newly organized Rand School of Social Science, then located in a brownstone house at 112 East 19th Street, New York City. The Society later returned to this address, after a new building had replaced the old brownstone one. During these years, the I.S.S. also obtained the part time services of an efficient Assistant Secretary in the person of Rose Landon, who contributed her services without charge.

The years 1910 to World War I saw the Society rapidly expand to 43 chapters by 1912 and to over 60 chapters by 1917. The I.S.S. moved its offices twice during this period, first to 619 Madison Avenue, and then to 105 West 40th Street. Membership increased to 750 by 1912, and to 1,200 by 1917, with an additional 1,000 in alumni chapters. Expenditures increased from \$2,309.63 in 1911, to \$10,041.71 in 1917. Harry W. Laidler, then working for his Ph.D. in Columbia University, came on the staff as an organizer in 1910 and much of this expansion was due to his efforts. Dr. Laidler has continued with the I.S.S., and later the L.I.D., from that year to the present writing.

During these years the I.S.S. established its first chapters on the West Coast and in the South. In 1911, the New York Dental College Chapter began publication of the influential "Progressive Dentist", which continued as a monthly for two years. The first I.S.S. convention was held in 1909, during the Christmas holidays. And, by 1913 the I.S.S. was holding regional conferences with the cooperation of District Committees. Ordway

Tead, later to become Chairman of the New York Board of Higher Education, was elected Chairman of the New England Region, one of the first to be established. 1915 saw the launching of the first Summer Conference, which later became an annual institution, and in the same year established a Research Bureau. A symbol consisting of the motto "Light, more light" inscribed on an open book, which is superimposed over spread wings and a lighted torch, was adopted. Toward the end of this period, in 1917, the first Student Council was established. This was an appointed body of officers of various chapters and student groups with I.S.S. members. This Council eventually grew into an elected student national executive committee.

One of the most interesting developments in the I.S.S. history was the gradual evolution of a magazine of facts and opinion, which served as the organ of the I.S.S. In 1908 the I.S.S. began issuing a quarterly Bulletin, which contained news of college and city chapter activities. Then, in 1913, the Bulletin was expanded in the Intercollegiate Socialist, with poetry by James Oppenheim and others, and articles on social and economic problems by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Karl Kautsky, Keir Hardie, Morris Hillquit, Paul H. Douglas, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Norman Angell, Eugene V. Debs, and many others. In 1919 the I.S.S. quarterly became a monthly under the title of the Socialist Review. Among its contributors were Charles Steinmetz, Edwin Markham, Harry Elmer Barnes, Evans Clark, Ordway Tead, Harold J. Laski, Lewis S. Gannett, Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, Stuart Chase, Freda Kirchwey, John Haynes Holmes, and Harry A. Overstreet. Unfortunately, the magazine failed to survive the wave of reaction which followed World War I.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND LEADERS OF THE I.S.S.

Throughout the history of the Student L.I.D., the student members of the League fully realized that college offered an opportunity not only for activity, but for reading and discussion and hard and honest thinking on the fundamental social and economic problems of the times, and for coming into vital contact with the dedicated thinkers and doers of the age - an opportunity which might not be so readily available in their active life after college days were over.

Arthur Gleason, President of the League in the early twenties, emphasized to the students of his day the need for synthesis between thinking and doing. He bespoke the democratic concern of the League that the consumer, the citizen, the "average man", should be the person "whose interests are the main concern."

"But an idea like that", he declared, "does not descend from heaven and travel on its own momentum. It is hammered out by the faithful in close thinking. Thinking is the hardest work in the world. Men shrink from it as they do not shrink from pain or danger. This conscious mental effort demands something new and unheard of, in this country: a group of persons busy at thinking, before they become busy in activities. Our need is to obtain a free circulation from the heart to the brain to the motor responses.

An idea leaps out of emotional conviction and severe mental effort, and proceeds to a testing in action. When we learn this, we shall no longer let heaps of facts remain separated from a policy, and no longer let both the facts and the policy remain divorced from action. And, he should add, we shall no longer be dupes to irresponsible extremists, believers in totalitarianism of the right or the left."

Among the student leaders in the period 1905 to 1921 who later became prominent were: Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois (Columbia); Devere Allen of World Over Press (Oberlin); the late Otto S. Beyer, former Chairman of the National Mediation Board (University of Illinois); Carroll Binder, Editorial Editor, Minneapolis Tribune (Harvard); Julius S. Bixler, President of Colby College (Amherst); Bruce Bliven, Chairman of the Editorial Board, New Republic (Stanford); the late Heywood Broun, Columnist (Harvard); Evans Clark, former director, Twentieth Century Fund (Amherst); Everett R. Clinchy, President of National Conference of Christians and Jews (Wesleyan); Maurice Calman, Dentist (N.Y. School of Dentistry); the late Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Social Security (Pittsburgh); Babette Deutsch, Poetess (Barnard); Gustav Egloff, leading American chemist (Cornell);

Harold U. Faulkner, economic historian (Wesleyan); Mary Fox, former Executive Secretary, L.I.D. (Vassar); Lewis Gannett, literary columnist of the New York Herald Tribune (Harvard); Osmond Fraenkel, civil liberties lawyer (Columbia); Isabelle Friedman, cooperator and student of international affairs (Hunter); Samuel H. Friedman, Public Relations (C.C.N.Y.); John Temple Graves, Jr., Southern Columnist (Princeton); Arthur N. Holcombe, former Professor of Government, Harvard (Harvard); Horace M. Kallen, Philosopher (Harvard); Nicholas Kelley, vice-president, Chrysler Corporation (Harvard); Freda Kirchwey, Editor The Nation (Barnard); William M. Leiserson, former Chairman, National Mediation Board (Wisconsin); Walter Lippmann, Columnist (Harvard); Karl N. Llewellyn, Professor of Law, Columbia (Yale); Jay Lovestone, Director, International Relations, I.L.G.W.U. (C.C.N.Y.);

Isador Lubin, former U.S. Representative, U.N. Economic and Social Council, former Commissioner Bureau of Labor Statistics (Clark and Missouri); Kenneth Macgowan, movie producer, Chairman of Drama Departments, (U.C.L.A. (Harvard); the late Edna St. Vincent Millay, Poetess (Vassar); Spencer S. Miller, Assistant Secretary of Labor (Amherst); Leland Olds, former Chairman of the Federal Power Commission (Amherst); Samuel Orr, Labor lawyer and former Judge, N.Y.U.); Selig Perlman, Labor Historian (Wisconsin); Stephen Raushenbush, author and economic researcher (Amherst); David Saposs, Labor Economist and Historian (Wisconsin); Ordway Tead, former Chairman Board of Higher Education, New York (Amherst); Selman A. Waksman, co-discoverer of streptomycin (Rutgers); Ray B. Westerfield, former Professor of Economics, Yale, and President, First Federal Savings and Loan Association, New Haven (Yale); Theresa Wolfson, Professor of Economics, Brooklyn College (Adelphi); Gertrude Folks Zimand, Secretary, National Child Labor Committee (Vassar).

THE WAR YEARS AND THE CHANGE OF NAME

America's entrance into World War I brought with it the draft, and the drastic curtailment of student enrollment. Although the I.S.S. took no official position on the war, the growing restrictions on student activity adversely affected its student membership. In 1919, the I.S.S. conducted a survey on "Freedom of Discussion in American Colleges." While the number of replies was not large, the study clearly revealed that an increasing number of schools were: (1) prohibiting outside affiliations for political groups, (2) placing increasing restrictions on speakers, and (3) censoring the faculty for liberal opinions.*

In spite of many restrictions, the I.S.S. remained a potent force on college campuses and I.S.S. members were active in many unaffiliated student groups. This was the case with the unaffiliated Social Problems Club of the City College of New York, which was organized by the I.S.S. and had a membership of over 400. Among some of the prominent speakers who addressed this club were Fiorello LaGuardia, Judge Jacob Panken, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

In 1919, Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers League, and an outstanding fighter for child labor and labor legislation, replaced J. G. Phelps Stokes as President of the I.S.S. She in turn was succeeded by Arthur Gleason, writer, labor economist and authority on the British Labor Movement.

During this period, a discussion arose as to the possible change in the name of the League and an expansion of its scope. The reasons for this discussion were numerous. The name had led many mistakenly to assume that the Society had some affiliation with the Socialist Party and that all its members were committed to a belief in Socialism. Secondly, during the years of the Society's existence, the student and city chapters had in no sense confined themselves to a discussion of Socialism but had dealt in their lectures and discussions with a wide variety of labor and social problems. Thirdly, many members of the Society were anxious to adopt a name which would not seem to exclude non-collegians from its membership and activities. This discussion resulted in a change of name to the League for Industrial Democracy and to a broadening of its aims and purposes.

The first President of the League was Robert Morss Lovett, then Professor of English Literature of the University of Chicago, and an editor of The New Republic. One of its Vice-Presidents was Charles Steinmetz, the "electrical wizard", one of America's most noted inventors.

THE PROSPEROUS TWENTIES

In the early years of the I.S.S., there was a decided preference for the name "Socialist Club" for college chapters, although the first chapter at Wesleyan adopted the name "Social

*Socialist Review, Vol. VIII, No. 4, March 1920.

Study Club." During World War I and afterwards, many re-organized chapters began calling themselves "Social Problems Club", "Contemporary Club", "Social Reconstruction Club", "Social Science Club", "Economics Club", "Why Club", "Politics Club", "Round Table", and "Liberal Club", the last name being the most popular. In the thirties, the pendulum was to swing back again, with a return to a preference for "Radical Club", "Socialist Club", etc.

Norman Thomas joined the staff of the L.I.D. as Co-Director with Dr. Harry W. Laidler, in 1922. In 1919, the Society, after several changes in addresses, moved to 70 Fifth Avenue and remained there until 1929, when it returned to 112 East 19th Street. In 1923, Paul Blanshard joined the L.I.D. staff as an organizer, as did Paul R. Porter a few years later. Paul Porter, who had, with Clarence Senior, organized a strong L.I.D. Chapter at the University of Kansas, was later to become a Director of the European Cooperation Administration in Europe.

While Dr. Laidler directed an increasing amount of his time to economic and social research, and wrote such books as Social Economic Movements, Concentration of Control in American Industry, and A Program for Modern America, Messrs. Thomas, Blanshard and Porter organized and spoke before student and civic groups in every state of the union. By 1925 the student membership had reached 2,000, and by 1927, student chapters totaled about 75. The Student Council, formed during the twenties, now included a membership of 116. By 1925, the budget, greatly aided by the American Fund for Public Service, established by a young Harvard graduate, reached \$30,000.

Membership was not the only criteria of activity. Before World War I, I.S.S. lecturers were reaching an average of 20,000 students a year. By 1925, 35,000 students a year were hearing the L.I.D. message.* Bertrand Russell's first appearance in the United States was under the auspices of the L.I.D. In addition to lectures, the L.I.D. continued to publish pamphlets including "Who Gets America's Wealth?" by William English Walling, "The Challenge of War", by Norman Thomas, "The World Trend Toward Public Ownership" by Harry W. Laidler, "The Challenge of Waste" by Stuart Chase, and "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement" by George Soule. The L.I.D. also sponsored a series of essay contests in honor of Charles Steinmetz.

The L.I.D. branched out into a number of fields during this period in its development. Three committees were organized: The Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief (which collected food, clothing and money), the American Committee on Justice to China (formed in protest against the use of American gunboats in China), and the Committee on Coal and Power. The last named committee, of which Stephen Raushenbush was secretary, formulated a program for public development of electric power which vitally influenced future legislation. It also prepared a program for coal nationalization.

*L.I.D. News Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 2, January 1926.

In the colleges, the L.I.D. continued vigorous activity. In 1926, the L.I.D. made a survey of the R.O.T.C. in the colleges, and on the basis of its findings, attacked the growing influence of the military in American colleges. In 1927, a student committee to aid Sacco and Vanzetti was organized. In the same year, campaigns against American intervention in Nicaragua and Mexico, and in behalf of the Passaic textile workers were also organized.

The issue of Academic Freedom occupied much of the time of the 1927 convention, as of the previous convention. At City College, two students had been suspended for criticizing the administration, and the L.I.D. chapter had campaigned for their reinstatement. One of the students was finally reinstated. The case was widely commented on in other school papers.

By the following year the L.I.D. had grown to the point where it was necessary to hold two annual student conferences: one in New York City and one in Chicago. Over 70 chapters were represented in the 1928 conventions, with over 200 delegates divided equally between the two cities. This was indicative of the growing strength of the League.

SOME L.I.D. STUDENT LEADERS

In retrospect, one of the real accomplishments of the Student L.I.D. has been its role as a training institute for future leaders in government, labor, cooperatives and business. In fact, it would be hard to write a history of the S.L.I.D. without mentioning a few of the students who contributed their time and effort, and who later also became prominent. The period from the early twenties to the mid-thirties produced its share of such leaders. Here are some of their names:

Murray Baron (Brooklyn Law); Daniel Bell, Labor Editor, Fortune Magazine; Andrew J. Biemiller, Legislative Staff, A.F.L., former Congressman (Pennsylvania); Wallace J. Campbell, Director of Washington Office, Cooperative League, USA (Oregon); the late Felix S. Cohen, former Assistant Solicitor, Department of the Interior in charge of Indian Affairs (C.C.N.Y.); Cara Cook, Secretary, New York Teachers Guild (Mount Holyoke); Elmer Cope, Labor Economist (Pittsburgh); Leonard Doob, Professor of Psychology, Yale (Dartmouth); Tilford Dudley, Assistant Secretary, P.A.C. (Wesleyan); George Edwards, Judge of Court of Domestic Relations, Detroit (Harvard); William Gombert, Director, Engineering Department I.L.G.W.U. (C.C.N.Y.); John Herling, Labor Editor (Harvard); Sidney Hertzberg, Correspondent (Wisconsin); Sidney Hook, Chairman, Department of Philosophy, N.Y.U. (C.C.N.Y.);

Maynard Krueger, Professor of Economics, Chicago (Pennsylvania); Joseph Lash, staff of New York Post (C.C.N.Y.); Max Lerner, Columnist (Brookings); Charles Luckman, Architect, former President Lever Brothers (Kansas City College); Aaron Levenstein, staff, Research Institute of America (C.C.N.Y.); Arthur G. McDowell, Executive Vice President Upholsterers' International Union (Pittsburgh); Talcott Parsons, Chairman of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard (Amherst); Justine Wise Polier, Judge of the

Court of Domestic Relations, New York (Barnard); Paul R. Porter, former L.C.A. Aide, Europe (Kansas); Victor G. Reuther, European Representative CIO (Wayne); Walter P. Reuther, President CIO and UAW-CIO (Wayne); Will Rogers, Jr., Editor (Stanford); Larry Rogin, Educational Director, Textile Workers Union (Columbia); Morris H. Rabin, Editor, Progressive Magazine (Wisconsin); Raymond Rubinow, Consultant on International Relations (Pennsylvania);

Emil Schlesinger, Labor attorney (C.C.N.Y.); Clarence Senior, Expert on Latin America (Kansas); Joel Seidman, author, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Chicago (Johns Hopkins); William L. Shirer, Foreign Correspondent and Author (Coe College); Irving Stone, Novelist (University of Southern California); Monroe Sweetland, Editor, Oregon Democratic National Committeeman (Syracuse); Lazare Tepper, Research Director, I.L.G.W.U. (Johns Hopkins); Frank Trager, former M.S.A. Director, Burma (Johns Hopkins); Gus Tyler, Political Director, I.L.G.W.U. (C.C.N.Y.); H. Jerry Voorhis, Secretary, Cooperative League U.S.A. (Yale); James Wechsler, Editor, New York Post (Columbia); Nathaniel Weyl, Author (Columbia); Chester Williams, Consultant, International Affairs (U.C.L.A.); Herman Wolf, Public Relations (Chicago); James Youngdahl, Staff, Amalgamated Clothing Workers (Washington University).

OTHER STUDENT GROUPS

Other student organizations came into existence during the twenties, but generally these did not last long or were school-supported and dominated. The first of these organizations to be organized on a national scale was the Intercollegiate Liberal Society, which was led by John Rothchild, a Harvard graduate. This group soon changed its name to the National Student Forum. Its chief activity consisted in the publication of a rather good magazine called "The New Student", and also the scheduling of speaking tours for a number of foreign student leaders among American colleges. Many of the members of the N.S.F. joined the S.L.I.D. after the magazine ceased publication in 1929. The Young Democracy, organized during the early twenties by Devere Allen and others was active for a number of years. A National Student Federation of America, which was a forerunner of the present day National Student Association, was organized in 1925 at Princeton University. As a federation of student government organizations, it remained generally conservative in outlook. It survived until the outbreak of World War II, when it merged with the International Student Service to form the United States Student Assembly. This latter group eventually developed into the Students for Democratic Action, the student division of the Americans for Democratic Action.

THE L.I.D. IN THE DEPRESSION YEARS

In the fall of 1929 Mary Fox became Executive Secretary of the general organization and for the next decade initiated many valuable educational activities, including a L.I.D. Lecture Series which, at one time, supplied from six to eight lecturers a season to L.I.D. lecture committees in over sixty cities. In the organization of these lecture series, Mary Hillyer was a moving spirit. By 1930, an office was opened in Chicago with Karl Borders, later chief administrator of the U.N. International Children's Fund, and Ethel Watson in charge. The Chicago L.I.D. participated actively

in helping the unemployed by forming a Workers Committee on Unemployment, which later combined with other groups to form the 300,000 member Workers Alliance. The New York L.I.D. in the early days of the depression published two issues of The Unemployed, a vividly illustrated publication in magazine format, which achieved a combined circulation of 315,000 copies. The magazine, sold largely by the unemployed, furnished many with their only income during the brief period of its existence. Also, one issue of a publication, Disarm, containing a powerful plea against war, was printed.

1930 also saw the first of the L.I.D. European tours, under the direction of Dr. Harry W. Laidler. The number of people reached by the League through its lecturers continued to climb in the depression years to a total 130,000.* During this period, the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, which was initiated by the League, and under the direction of Norman Thomas and John Herling, raised a total of \$30,000 for strike relief. It also organized a "Chautauqua" or summer workshop where L.I.D. members spent six weeks among the West Virginia miners, serving on picket lines, running soup kitchens and schools for the miners' children and for their parents. It later organized Chautauquas in other parts of the United States, which were followed by a Student Summer School on labor problems, usually held in New York and also continuing for six weeks.

In the pamphlet field, the L.I.D. continued its now popular series with such pamphlets as "European Trade Unionism and Politics" by Dr. Franz Neuman, "Fordism" by Carl Raushenbush, "Toward a Farmer-Labor Party" by Harry W. Laidler, and "Workers' Education Today" by Mark Starr. All of this was being done on a budget of \$45,101.33 in 1930, which rose to \$54,609.49 by 1932. Only a small part of these funds came from membership dues, the chief source being contributions.

As an educational organization, contributions to the L.I.D. are tax exempt. During the thirties, however, this tax exemption was brought into question on the grounds that the L.I.D. engaged in the discussion of problems of a "controversial nature". In the case of Weyl v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, however, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals decided in 1930 that the League's activities were of an educational nature, and that therefore contributions should be allowed as deductions in computing individual income taxes. This ruling still holds true.

WORLD TENSIONS AFFECT THE CAMPUS

By the Spring of 1930, Paul Porter, L.I.D. Field Secretary, reported that there was a definite change in the attitude of students which expressed itself in greater interest in the L.I.D. and its program.** The coming of the Depression and the rise of Fascism had begun to have their effect. The Intercollegiate Student Council

*L.I.D. Monthly, Vol. VIII, No. 4, January 1930.

**L.I.D. Monthly, Vol. VIII, No. 8, May 1930.

responded to this increased interest by greatly expanding its activities. An Intercollegiate Mooney and Billings Committee for that famous pair who were convicted by perjured testimony was organized. The Committee was led by Sidney Hertzberg, a L.I.D. student leader at the University of Wisconsin, and now a noted writer and foreign correspondent and member of the L.I.D. Board of Directors. The year 1929 saw the publication of the "Harvard Progressive", issued by the L.I.D. chapter there. Among its articles was one severely critical of President Lowell of Harvard for his report on the Sacco-Venzetti case. In November, the President of the L.I.D. chapter at Harvard, Lawrence Cohen, was arrested for passing out leaflets welcoming J. Ramsay MacDonald to the United States.*

Over 10,000 signatures were collected by the Intercollegiate Student Council against compulsory military training. The petition was then presented to President Hoover's secretary and to a select group of Congressmen by a delegation of 53 students from various S.L.I.D. chapters, who journeyed to Washington, D.C., for this purpose. It is important to note that many schools then followed the practice of requiring all students to join the R.O.T.C. or engage in military drill. Before the end of the year, the Student L.I.D. had also rendered assistance to the 1930 Dressmakers' Strike in New York.

As of 1931, the L.I.D. had some 3,000 non-student members, and some 3,150 student members divided into 1.00 or voting members, and 25¢ or non-voting members.** Voting refers to elections to the L.I.D. Board of Directors. Twenty-five cent members were free to become voting members upon payment of an additional 75¢. The first student representatives to the L.I.D. Board of Directors were chosen by student referendum in 1931.

Since the 1928 convention, the Chairmen of the Intercollegiate Student Council were elected at the New York student conference, while a separate Chicago conference chose the Vice Chairmen. The 1930 Chairman was Donald Smith, who was succeeded in turn by Riva Stocker (1931), Maurice Neufeld (1932), Monroe Sweetland (1933), Richard Babb Whitten (1934), and Alvin Hamilton (1935). The last three were elected by a unified S.L.I.D. national convention, which also elected a National Executive Committee of 13 members. For three years prior to the 1932 convention, when this change was made, the Executive Committee of the I.S.C. had been composed of the Chairman of the District Councils. At this convention, however, the I.S.C. was abolished. The District Councils continued to function, and by 1933 there were ten in existence: Northern Ohio; Baltimore; Chicago; Southern California; Rocky Mountains; Kansas-Nebraska; Missouri; Iowa; Louisiana-Mississippi; and New York City.

*L.I.D. Monthly, Vol. VIII, No. 2, November 1929.

**L.I.D. Monthly, January 1932.

"REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS"

During these years, there were few dull moments in the general student movement. At Columbia, 4,000 students struck when the Administration expelled Reed Harris, then Editor of the Columbia Spectator, for his opposition to football, R.O.T.C., censorship, and unsanitary conditions in the dining hall. Several L.I.D. students were arrested for picketing the home of Samuel Insull, owner of several Kentucky coal mines, which were then viciously fighting the union. They were held a few hours, lectured and their cases were dismissed. In an effort to reduce living costs to enable the students to remain in college, the L.I.D. chapters at the Universities of Michigan, Missouri and Chicago organized book and housing cooperatives. In Chicago, over 12,000 High School students walked out of their classes in protest over the refusal of the city to grant salary increases for teachers. Emanuel Maravchik, Chicago representative on the Student Council and now Field Director of the Jewish Labor Committee, assisted the strikers.

At City College in New York, President Robinson launched an umbrella attack against a group of students protesting a military review. When the incident appeared in the newspapers, President Robinson suspended three campus clubs, including the S.L.I.D. A strike was called, and 20 student leaders were suspended in retaliation. An "Association of Unemployed Alumni", which led a "cap and gown march on Washington", was organized by the L.I.D. and other student groups in 1932. The L.I.D. chapter at the University of North Carolina petitioned the school to admit its first Negro student. And at Vassar, 85 girls journeyed to Albany to defeat a Student Loyalty Oath Bill.

The issue which really caught on like wildfire, however, was the "Oxford Peace Pledge", which went something like this: "This House pledges that under no circumstances will it fight for King or Country". This pledge was endorsed by numerous groups, including the National Student Federation, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s, and the Student L.I.D. Over 25,000 students went out on strike during "Student Anti-War Week in April of 1934. The following year, four organizations besides the S.L.I.D. joined in a call for a one-hour strike on April 12, 1935 at 11:00 a.m. The three rallying cries were "Fight Against Imperialist War", "For Abolition of the R.O.T.C.", and "Schools, Not Battleships". Joining with the S.L.I.D. were the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Mid-Atlantic Division of the Inter-Seminary Movement, the American Youth Congress and the National Student League. To keep its members up to date on developments, the S.L.I.D. issued several editions of a printed newsletter called Student Action which appeared in newspaper format. When the final count was made, it was found that 185,000 students had participated. For a fuller account, read James A. Wechsler's Revolt on the Campus.

The symbol of three silver arrows, which stood for Agitation, Education and Organization, was adopted by the 1934 Student L.I.D. convention at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The delegates voted for a campaign against misrepresentations of liberal issues by the Hearst press, and for the establishment of a fund to aid underground work in Fascist countries. For the first

time, a separate student budget report was made to the convention. It showed that out of a budget of \$8,000, only \$2,000 came from dues and literature, and the other \$6,000 was donated by the L.I.D.* George Streater reported on the difficulties of organizing Negro colleges. About 40 High School and College chapters were represented at this convention; one delegation came in an old bus which broke down, while others rode in old jalopies, hitch-hiked or "rode the rails". The total number of chapters was now over 80. A year later, there were approximately 120 chapters, with over 4,000 members.

One of the major activities of the Student L.I.D. during this period was the publication of a student magazine, first called Revolt, and later changed to Student Outlook. It was edited by Joseph Lash of the S.L.I.D. staff and contained articles by Sidney Hook, Reed Harris, Herman Wolf, Arnold L. Beichman, John Dos Passos, Harold Draper, and Abraham S. Weiss. It first appeared in the Fall of 1932 and continued publication until 1935, when it became the organ of the American Student Union, under the title of Student Advocate.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE A.S.U.

Historians of the Communist movement divide the shifts in party line into periods. From 1928 to about 1933, the Communist Parties around the world followed a policy of splitting the Left, and characterizing liberals and socialists as "social fascists". In the United States during those years, the Communists built dual unions and played the role of extreme militancy. At the college level, a group of Communists and fellow travellers in 1931 organized the National Student League which was initially confined to New York. With the rise of Hitler to power in 1933, the Party line changed once again and the "Popular Front" became the order of the day. This was immediately reflected in the new "Line" of the N.S.L.

On every campus where there were National Student League chapters, the cry went up for "unity". When the peace strikes became a live issue, the pressure for unity intensified because many members deemed it necessary for the Student L.I.D. to work with the N.S.L. in order to achieve leadership of the student strikes. The first "feelers" of the N.S.L. were rejected by the Student L.I.D. in an editorial in the L.I.D. Monthly of May, 1932. However, as the threat of war became more evident, the competition between the two organizations became increasingly evident. Two different peace congresses were held during 1933; one in Chicago under Communist control, and one in New York under L.I.D. sponsorship. Furthermore, the launching of a national peace strike committee and its success in organizing strikes in 1934 and 1935 increased the pressure for unity considerably. In June, 1935, the S.L.I.D. National Executive Committee had before it a motion by Joseph Lash to appoint a committee to meet with the N.S.L. for the purpose of negotiating a merger. The

*Proceedings, S.L.I.D., Annual Convention, December, 1934, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

N.E.C. was divided, with Chicago, part of California, and Cincinnati in favor, and New York, George Washington University and the Young People's Socialist League, whose members supported the S.L.I.D., in opposition.* The remaining members were noncommitted. The N.E.C., after much discussion, finally voted to appoint a mixed negotiating committee.

While these discussions were going on, one Waldo McNutt, masquerading as a S.L.I.D. organizer, was traveling around the Midwest urging immediate amalgamation. The negotiating committee meanwhile reported back with a preliminary recommendation that the unified N.E.C. have six representatives from each organization, and that the two organizations meet in joint convention in December. The original agreement also recommended retaining the S.L.I.D. name and affiliation.** However, these provisions were lost in the pre-convention shuffle as pronouncements from the national office became increasingly "pro-unity". The Unity Convention was held at the Columbus, Ohio Y.M.C.A., during the 1935 Christmas holidays, and out of it was born the American Student Union. The merger had been opposed by a majority of the L.I.D. Board of Directors, but the autonomy of the S.L.I.D. had nevertheless been respected and the merger went through.

For four years, the discordant elements in the A.S.U. managed to work together. Membership even increased for a while as unaffiliated groups joined on the basis of the mild program of the A.S.U. However, the "professional students" among the Communists and the great powers which the Executive Committee wielded, combined to strengthen the Communist position. The Soviet invasion of Finland in 1939 caused a split in the A.S.U., and many of its non-Communist leaders walked out. After the break, the A.S.U. declined rapidly until 1941, when it held its last convention and disappeared from the student field.

WORLD WAR II AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE S.L.I.D.

During the latter part of the thirties, the L.I.D. continued to organize Summer Institutes for college students. These usually ran for six weeks and emphasized field work with local trade unions. The L.I.D. also engaged Dr. Joel Seidman and Dr. Leroy E. Bowman to lecture in the colleges during the late thirties and early war years. Then, after the war, when students were returning to college under the GI Bill, a number of individuals began correspondence with the L.I.D. about the possibilities of organizing college chapters. One of the first actual groups to be organized by these correspondents was at Antioch College, Ohio, by Frank Wallick, who was later elected National President of S.D.A.

The renewed interest in college work caused the L.I.D. to employ Jesse Cavileer, a graduate of Syracuse University and Union Theological Seminary, and Miss Elizabeth Healy, a graduate of the Connecticut College for Women, as organizer and student secretary respectively. An immediate organizing campaign was planned, and by

*Minutes of S.L.I.D. National Executive Committee, January 28-30, 1935, New York City.

**Joint Statement of National Student League and the S.L.I.D. Negotiating Committees.

the Fall of 1946, there were S.L.I.D. chapters at Columbia, C.C.N.Y., Brooklyn College, Harvard, Cornell, and Antioch. A conference was organized during the Christmas holidays with delegates from 30 colleges and three High Schools. Eric Hayden of Columbia was elected temporary National Chairman, and Gustav Papanek of Cornell, temporary Vice Chairman. The Executive Committee was made up of representatives from each chapter.

Among those present at this first convention were John Roche, Walter Weitzman, Frank Cortale, Irving Phillips, Harry Rubin, and Alex Baskin. Meeting in the Rand School, the assembled delegates heard Wallace J. Campbell of the Cooperative Movement, Mark Starr of the I.L.G.W.U.-A.F.L., Aaron Levenstein of the Research Institute of America, Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee, and Dr. Harry W. Laidler. The delegates voted to hold another convention in April, 1947.

BUILDING THE S.L.I.D.

Some forty delegates from 12 schools attended the first official post war convention of the S.L.I.D., at the Labor Temple in New York City, April 4 and 5, 1947. The staff was able to report that there were now seventeen organized chapters, extending from Harvard to the University of Michigan. Gustav Papanek was elected National President, John Roche, Vice President, and Hanna Kaiser, Secretary. A Constitution was approved which specifically barred all totalitarians from membership in the S.L.I.D. It read:

"Membership in the S.L.I.D. is confined to young people who believe in education for economic, political, and cultural democracy; who believe in the democratic way of life as a means and as a social goal. By virtue of the democratic aims of the League, advocates of dictatorship and totalitarianism and of any political system that fails to provide for freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of assembly, and of political, economic, and cultural organization; or of any system that would deny civil rights to any person because of race, color, creed, or national origin, are not eligible for membership. Nor are those eligible whose political policies are wholly or largely determined by the policies laid down by the leaders of a foreign government."

The Cornell chapter agreed to publish the national newsletter S.L.I.D. Voice. A conference on "Community Sources of Prejudice" was planned for the Christmas holidays.

In the Fall of 1947, James E. Youngdahl of the University of Missouri joined the L.I.D. staff as a student organizer. Grace Mendelsohn of Brooklyn College replaced Elizabeth Healy as student secretary. The S.L.I.D. was represented at the founding convention of the National Student Association at Madison, Wisconsin, in September

The second post-war convention of the S.L.I.D. was held at Wayne University, Detroit, December 28 to 31, 1947, in conjunction with the student conference on "Community Sources of Prejudice". Fifty-one delegates from 16 schools were present. George Edwards,

former Field Secretary of the S.L.I.D., who was then President of the Detroit City Council, was the keynote speaker at this convention. Most of the delegates were able to report expanded activity during the first year. Gustav Papanek, later an agricultural economist at Cornell, was re-elected National President, Jerome Lubin of C.C.N.Y., later active in the field of city planning, was elected Vice President, and Rachel Lloyd of Wooster, was elected Secretary.

The following March, the N.L.C. met at Wooster College and voted to establish regional committees. Ted Fenton was responsible for Ohio, Duane Johnson for Michigan, Roy Helfgott for Metropolitan New York, and Ruth Samuels for Up-State New York. Most of the students present reported no difficulty in securing S.L.I.D. recognition with the exception of the group at the University of West Virginia, which was forced to meet off campus. Two activities were planned for the Summer months. The first was a tour of the Canadian Province of Saskatchewan, where a farmer-labor government was putting L.I.D. principles into practice, which was led by Douglas Kelley. The second was several six-week scholarships to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Leadership Training Institute, at Port Huron, Michigan, which is jointly operated by the Michigan C.I.O. and the C.I.O. Auto Workers. The latter activity eventually became an annual event with the S.L.I.D.

S.L.I.D. chapters in the field continued their vigorous activity. At Wayne University, S.L.I.D. collected funds to aid striking agricultural workers at the giant Di Giorgio farm in California. Brooklyn College S.L.I.D. held a protest meeting on the increased subway fare, and protested the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. Books for the International Solidarity Committee and a mock political convention were the preoccupation of the Wooster College chapter.

Before the Summer of 1948, the Wayne S.L.I.D. petitioned the University to end its practice of segregation in the dormitories. The University's immediate reaction was to suspend the S.L.I.D. chapter! Through the intervention of George Edwards, then President of the Detroit Common Council, and the C.I.O. Auto Workers, the chapter was reinstated in the Fall, and the policy of segregation was dropped. At Brooklyn College, Victor Reuther, then U.A.W.-C.I.O. Education Director, drew a crowd of over 400 students. Before the next convention a New York Regional Council had been organized and one of its first activities was the holding of a two-day organizational workshop.

Freedom House in New York City was the site of the 1948 S.L.I.D. convention, held December 27 and 28. There were some 20 chapters represented, including two from California. The convention went on record in opposition to Universal Military Training, and to support of reactionary regimes abroad, and favored public ownership of public utilities, natural resources, banking and credit facilities, and monopolies in its domestic program. The delegates also voted for expanded social security, national health insurance, a Fair Employment Practices law and cooperative housing. Richard Poethig of Wooster College, Ohio was elected National President, and Ann Marie Buitrago, also of Wooster College, was elected Vice President.

POST WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE L.I.D.

A word about the L.I.D. Through its lecturers, the L.I.D. continued to reach thousands of students who were unorganized and who might not otherwise be reached. Among these lecturers were M. J. Coldwell, President of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada and Member of Parliament, Donald Chapman, Secretary of the Fabian Society and British M.P., and Margaret Cole, famous British writer. The annual luncheon conferences also helped to publicize the activities of the League. The 1947 L.I.D. luncheon honored Trygve Lie, then U.N. Secretary-General. In 1948, at a dinner co-sponsored by the L.I.D. and the Reunion of Old Timers, a citation was given to Hubert H. Humphrey, just elected Senator from Minnesota. In 1949, David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.-A.F.L., was the honored guest. In subsequent years, William Green, Philip Murray, Ralph J. Bunche and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt were the recipients of awards.

During the post-World War II period, the L.I.D. initiated the practice of granting John Dewey Awards to former L.I.D. student leaders for distinguished service in their respective fields. Those so honored include Walter P. Reuther, Senator Paul H. Douglas, Dr. Selman A. Waksman, Leland Olds, Professor Sidney Hook, Paul R. Porter and Clarence Senior. The League likewise continued publication of numerous pamphlets, including "World Labor Today" by Robert J. Alexander, "Democratic Socialism" by Norman Thomas, "National Health Insurance" by Professor Seymour E. Harris of Harvard, "A Housing Program for America" by Charles Abrams, "Socialism in the United States" by Harry W. Laidler, and "The Forward March of American Labor" by Professor Theresa Wolfson of Brooklyn College and Joseph Glazer of the C.I.O. Rubber Workers, which sold over 80,000 copies.

John Dewey, distinguished American philosopher and educator, replaced Robert Morss Lovett in 1940 as President of the League. The following year he was succeeded by Elisabeth Gilman, who had been active in civic and race relations organizations. Dr. Bjarne Braatoy, author and former Professor of Government at Haverford College, Pa., became President in 1942, and remained in that office until succeeded in 1944 by Mark Starr, Educational Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, A.F.L. Nathaniel M. Minkoff, present League President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Dress Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U.-A.F.L., succeeded Mark Starr in 1948. The fact that many officers of the League have their roots in the Labor movement is indicative of the closer relationship which has been established in recent years between Labor and the L.I.D.

THE REACTION SETS IN

The Spring of 1949 saw some changes in staff. Dorothy Psathas, who was formerly President of the United States Student Assembly chapter at the Connecticut College for Women, replaced Grace Mendelsohn as student secretary. Irving Goldner joined the staff as a part-time organizer in the Spring, and in the Fall, Irving Phillips took on the assignment. Due to events in Europe, such as the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Henry Wallace campaign, a reaction had set in on the campus, and it became increasingly difficult to organize students. As a result, the N.E.C. decided to postpone the 1949 Convention until Spring of 1950.

A student conference on "Planning in a Free Society" at Harvard University, was called for March 18, 1950. The main event was a debate between M. J. Coldwell, Member of the Canadian Parliament, and Arthur J. Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard. Over 260 students and faculty members from Harvard, Boston University, Wellesley and other surrounding schools attended the panels and the debate.

At Wayne University, the S.L.I.D. began a series of "University Papers", modeled after the famous Federalist Papers. The subject of these papers was academic freedom, and both students and faculty contributed to them. Library exhibits on cooperatives, housing and city planning were among the term projects of the Brooklyn College S.L.I.D. The S.L.I.D. also fought against the banning of the school newspaper, Vanguard, for its critical editorials. Although a coordinating committee, which included the S.L.I.D. was able to continue publication of the banned newspaper for several weeks, it was eventually forced to suspend publication.

The 1950 S.L.I.D. Convention took place April 7 and 8, at the Rand School. Fern Babcock of the Y.M.C.A., Rabbi Hoffman of Columbia, John K. Benedict of the L.I.D., and Dr. Harry W. Laidler addressed the convention. The delegates approved a plan to hold a Summer Leadership Training School in New York, to consist of one day of discussion and classes every two weeks for a total of six sessions. A student public opinion survey was also conducted, and 1,000 questionnaires on the meaning of industrial democracy were filled out. The newly elected officers were Samuel Fine, President, and Harold Kerster, Vice President, both of N.Y.U. The Executive Committee included Alex Baskin, Bogdan Denitch, Bernie Levine, Harold Lewack, Stanley Matoren and Stanley Yedwab.

Following the convention, the N.Y.U. Chapter and the New York region began publication of a quarterly magazine, known as Outlook. The Editors included Frank Cortale, Bernie Levine, Sam Fine, Walter Grinspan, Gabriel Gersh and Harold Lewack. Three issues were published, with about 2,000 copies of each issue being distributed. The magazine was issued until the spring of 1951, when the difficulty of getting competent writers and of distributing the magazine forced its discontinuance.

During the Summer months, in addition to the Leadership Training School, which resulted in the preparation of a Chapter Chairman's Manual, the S.L.I.D., together with the S.D.A. and the Y.P.S.L. co-sponsored a forum series on "The Conflicting Ideologies of Our Time". Among the speakers were Daniel Bell, Aaron Levenstein, Roy Helfgott, and Ruth Fischer. In the Fall, James Farmer, a graduate of Wiley College and Howard University and the National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, joined the L.I.D. staff as Student Field Secretary. Earlier in the year, Mildred Perlman, a graduate of Brooklyn College and a lecturer at Boston University, had replaced Dorothy Psathas, who left this country for a trip to Greece.

FIGHTING THE GOOD RIGHT

The S.L.I.D. office conducted a number of campaigns during 1951. Josef Flade was an 18-year-old East German youth who was sentenced to death for putting up opposition political posters in the undemocratic East German elections. His case received international attention, and the S.L.I.D. was instrumental in bringing it before American students. As a result of our campaign, a number of student councils and organizations sent protests to Premier Grotewohl. His sentence of death was commuted to 15 years.

A campaign urging Congress to authorize the immediate shipment of wheat to India to relieve the 1951 famine was also undertaken. The murder of two Negroes in their Florida home as a result of a bomb, caused the S.L.I.D. to organize a Groveland Committee to arrange meetings and a radio broadcast to arouse students against this outrage. S.L.I.D. members during this period wrote a radio skit which told the story of the student movement in America, and presented it over Radio Station WEVD. The New York Region organized a number of tours to trade unions, cooperatives and housing projects. At Harvard the S.L.I.D. joined the I.L.G.W.U.-A.F.L. picket line against the Revelation Brassiere Company.

The S.L.I.D. representative on the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union was instrumental in drafting the Student Rights section of the A.C.L.U.'s statement on "Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibilities". The need for such a statement was highlighted by the fact that our chapter at the Central Michigan College of Education had been refused recognition by the School, although it had met all the requirements. Furthermore, our chapter at the University of Southern California, the Cooperative Commonwealth Forum, had to remain officially unaffiliated because of school restrictions.

Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the million member U.A.W. C.I.O., was the guest speaker at the 1951 S.L.I.D. Convention at Wayne University June 17 to 19. S.L.I.D. had approximately 500 members by this time. This was a real working convention. Panels on foreign policy, domestic policy, constitution and techniques kept the delegates pretty busy, except in the evenings which were taken up with social activity. Most of the delegates stayed in the homes of L.I.D. members in Detroit.

The convention went on record in favor of "a war against poverty" through an enlarged Point 4 program, continued efforts at negotiation to avert war, support for collective security measures, opposition to the Smith Act and the McCarran Immigration Law, a continuation of price controls, and support for federal Health Insurance, F.E.P.C., and public housing. Gabriel Gersh of N.Y.U. was elected National Chairman, and Bill Kemsley, Jr. of Wayne, Stephen Seligman of Harvard, and Jay Sorenson of Columbia were elected Vice Presidents. Prior to the election, the Constitution was amended so as to permit the election of three Regional Vice Presidents. The convention also approved an amendment which provided for four representatives on the L.I.D. Board of Directors, one of whom would be the National Chairman.

In the Fall of 1951, Paul Goldberg, a graduate of Hunter College, became student secretary, following the resignation of Mildred Perlman who left to take a position as Educational Director of the Women's Trade Union League and later a position at Pennsylvania State College. From October 1951 to October 1952, James Farmer lectured before 22 colleges and 10 High Schools, and approximately 15,000 people heard his message. S.L.I.D. groups were organized at Akron and Pittsburgh and contacts were established in a number of other schools in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In early 1952, S.L.I.D. became an associate (non-voting) ^{member} of the International Union of Socialist Youth. Like the pre-war S.L.I.D., which was affiliated with the International Socialist Student Federation, the present S.L.I.D. has established contact with like-minded students in other nations. At the present writing, an application of the S.L.I.D. for admission to the Young Adult Council, the United States affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth, is being considered.

OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

Unfortunately, preoccupation with an internal dispute centering around the City College Evening Session Chapter and the N.E.C. had weakened the S.L.I.D. considerably. The dispute arose over the nature of the S.L.I.D. - whether it should be a "disciplined" group, or one which encouraged diversity of opinion and action. The advocates of the "discipline" approach, who were confined primarily to this one chapter, attempted to organize a "caucus" system. They were subsequently outvoted and they left the organization at the request of the N.E.C. As a result of this situation, however, the number of active chapters declined during the academic year 1951-1952. The N.E.C., therefore, decided to postpone the 1952 convention to December, and later to June, 1953. It was proposed that the L.I.D. hire a part time regional organizer for New York, and also that a new attractive S.L.I.D. leaflet be issued.

While these plans were being drawn up, James Farmer was planning a two-month tour of the West Coast in the Spring. This was the first such trip by a S.L.I.D. representative in recent years. On the trip, Farmer visited our chapter at the University of Southern California, spoke at many other California colleges, and succeeded in setting up a L.I.D. Committee on Farm Labor.

In February 1953, Harold Lewack became a part-time organizer for the S.L.I.D. in the New York area. Because of the high turnover in the position of student secretary, it was decided to combine the positions of student secretary and student field secretary, and to employ secretarial help to assist the organizer. While six new chapters were being organized in New York, Farmer was organizing chapters at Oberlin and Antioch, as well as reviving our chapters at Harvard and Wayne. Gaby Kolko in Akron succeeded in setting up a city-wide S.L.I.D. group. Students from the University of Michigan, Bryn Mawr, and Cornell expressed interest in organizing chapters. The S.L.I.D.'s new leaflet, "What Kind of World" made its debut in April.

A conference on "Conformity and Dissent in Our Democracy" was planned in 1953 in conjunction with our June convention. It was held at International House, Columbia University, June 12 and 13.

Over 200 people attended the general sessions and the three panels on the one party press, threats to education, and the making of foreign policy. Among the speakers were Louis Fischer, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Rev. John Paul Jones, Daniel James and Max Nomad. A student public opinion survey on academic freedom which sampled over 1,000 New York students, was prepared by Jerome Breslow for use in this conference.

The 1953 S.L.I.D. Convention followed on the heels of the conference. For two days, beginning at International House and carrying over to the Women's Trade Union League, the convention hammered out resolutions on everything from organizational problems to the civil war in Kenya. Some of the resolutions had to be referred to the incoming N.E.C. for completion. Fraternal delegates from the International Union of Socialist Youth, the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement, the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, and the Young People's Socialist League presented greetings from their respective organizations. The newly elected officers were Harold Lewack, National President, Jerome Breslow, Vice President in charge of Education, and Gaby Kolko, Vice President in charge of International Affairs.*

Through arrangement with the New York School of Social Work, the S.L.I.D. obtained the services of Bernard Cornfeld. Among some of the activities arranged by him during the Summer were a series of three forum-socials, a S.L.I.D. song book, and a highly successful four-day Summer Institute. The latter included some 33 students from 12 schools, and dealt with both organizational problems and ideological issues. The excellent recreation facilities provided by our host, Camp Three Arrows, insured that everyone will long remember the event.

This last section was called "Operation Bootstrap" because the S.L.I.D. literally picked itself up by the bootstraps in the last year. The efforts of certain legislators to cancel the social gains of the thirties and forties and the activities of Senator McCarthy, have aroused many students on the campus and has led to an increased interest in the educational program of the S.L.I.D. Through the medium of part-time regional organizers, there is good reason to believe that the number of chapters will be expanded considerably. Plans are also being made to organize High School students and S.L.I.D. Alumni.

The late John Dewey, noted American philosopher, in a speech of welcome at a L.I.D. conference stated that "In welcoming you to membership in the L.I.D., I am in a deeper sense also welcoming you to an opportunity to take part in the creative activity of constructing a social order which shall be democratic all the way through." He went on to say that "even if the L.I.D. can do but a humble scene in the vast historic drama that is unrolling, it behooves us to play well that part." This history has shown something of what has been done in the past. The S.L.I.D., through its activities, has proved its worth. It is up to future generations to carry this work forward. The slogan of the S.L.I.D. during the 1930's was "Agitate, Educate and Organize". We might do well to copy it again.

*Proceedings and Minutes of the 32nd S.L.I.D. Convention, June 13, 14, 1953, New York City.